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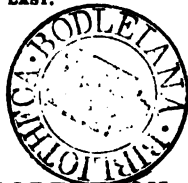
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THE  
**CLAIMS OF THE TIMES**  
 ON  
**EVANGELICAL DISSENTERS,**  
 IN RELATION TO  
**THE INROADS OF POPERY.**

BY THE  
**REV. DAVID YOUNG, D.D.**  
 PERTH.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED, A SPEECH, BY THE SAME AUTHOR, ON THE  
 MAYNOOTH ENDOWMENT, DELIVERED AT A PUBLIC MEETING IN  
 PERTH IN JANUARY LAST.



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## THE CLAIMS, &c.

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HAVING been requested by a number of friends, in whose judgment I have much confidence, to publish something on the novel aspect which the Popish controversy in this country has of late been made to assume; and having been led, in the course of Providence, to pay some attention to the subject, I feel no hesitation in complying with the request, partly in deference to their opinion, and partly to satisfy a sense of duty, which is growing and deepening in my own mind. The recent attempts of the Roman Antichrist to extend his dominion over our land, and the consequent movements of our state-churchmen in defence of their own position, have certainly brought us, who are evangelical Dissenters, into circumstances somewhat new; and the question as to how we should act in these new circumstances, is indisputably a grave one—so grave as to demand our earnest consideration; lest, by a false step now, we may be found, unwittingly, to do the cause we have so much at heart a very serious injury. In the pages which follow, my views of the matter I have stated as briefly as I could; and the reader may rest assured, that in resorting to the hortatory—which is freely done—I have no wish whatever to imitate the arrogance of the Vatican, by assuming the part of a dictator. I give my convictions just as they are, and trust they have not been hastily formed; but, ‘I speak as unto wise men; judge ye what I say.’

Popery presents itself to view under two distinct and assignable aspects, from each of which there comes a separate demand upon us; and our duty in relation to it can scarcely be performed unless we keep it, in both these aspects, distinctly before our minds.

I. It is a superstition, or a false religion, bearing the christian name, but repudiating the christian spirit,

practising on the dark forebodings of the ignorant and depraved, putting the inventions of designing men into the place of divine institutions, working by a system of disciplined artifice, which is subtle, restless, and extensively ramified, and, age after age, conducting multitudes, all over Christendom, into the eternal world, with a lie in their right hand. In short, it is Satan baptised into the name of Christ, the more effectually to subvert christianity. A glance at a few of its leading positions will be sufficient to establish these charges, broad and sweeping as they are.

With all true Protestants it is a fundamental principle, that the Word of God, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, is, by itself alone, the rule of christian faith and practice. But in direct opposition to this, Romanism not only goes so far as to raise fallible mortals up to a level with God himself, as an authority in religious matters, but in all practical effect, to set them above God, by making the sacred record to mean what the Pope or his council says it means, and furnishing such additions to it as he or they may judge expedient; thereby luring religious belief away from its native aliment, and causing it to corrupt and debase itself by feeding on the garbage of human invention. This, as you will at once perceive, is a formidable evil, the origin of all the other evils which Popery has generated. It goes to poison the religious sentiment at its very fountain; and by interposing human dictation between the conscience and that which is divine, it brings the message sent to us from heaven down to a level with the theories of earth. Then again, as to the great cardinal doctrine of justification by faith in the atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, although Papists do not directly deny that doctrine, yet by the 'merits,' and 'satisfactions,' on the part of the sinner himself, of which they make so much, they so mystify it, or throw it so much into the shade, that, vital as it is, and essential as it is, to true or solid peace of mind, the poor bewildered votary can scarcely apprehend it. Nay, as if for the express purpose of turning his mind away from it, he is industriously taught, that while '*venial sins*,' as they gratuitously style them, may be cancelled through it alone, yet '*no man can obtain the forgiveness of mortal sins*, here

or hereafter, without confessing to a priest, and performing the penances which he imposes.' How fearfully and how fatally does this lead the heart away from the only ground on which sinful man can ever find acceptance with God!

The idolatry of the Church of Rome is another part of the indictment against her which holds a very prominent place. There is the idolatry of the Mass, by which she contrives to overawe her victims, and to keep them in blind and impious subjection to the domination of her earthly head. By the pretended consecration of a priest, the bread and wine of the eucharist are, in defiance of the clearest refuting evidence, said to be changed into the body and blood of Christ, and so made an object of adoration to gazing superstition; while the true solemnity of the institute, its instructive simplicity, its spiritual significance, and the hallowed emotions it is given to inspire, are, one and all, grievously marred, if not entirely disregarded. We know that strenuous attempts are made to rebut the charge of idolatry both in relation to the Mass and the homage offered to the Virgin Mary; but these attempts are futile; they run into abstractions, which may have place, in less or more, in the mind of a subtle casuist, but which neither fairly meet the case, nor can have any modifying effect on the minds of Popish worshippers. They do adore the host, although their palates are ever telling them it is no more than a wafer; and they do offer to the Virgin Mary, not to speak of the Pope himself, a homage due to none but God. In a catechism, published in 1836, by the Irish Archbishop Reilly, she is styled 'Mother of our Creator, Queen of angels, and prophets, and apostles, and confessors, and saints,' 'Ark of the Covenant,' 'Health of the weak,' 'Refuge of sinners,' 'Help of Christians,' 'House of God,' 'Gate of Heaven,' and 'Mother of divine grace.' Quite in keeping with these blasphemies, take the following form of prayer extracted from a treatise called the Scapular, and in sanctioned use at this day among Irish Roman Catholics:— 'Ever glorious and blessed VIRGIN MARY, queen of virgins, mother of mercy, hope and comfort of all desolate souls, I beseech thee in my poverty and wants, have compassion on my anxiety and cares, help and comfort me in all my infirmities and miseries whatsoever. You are

the mother of mercies, the comfort of the afflicted and desolate, the refuge of all the needy and of orphans. Behold then with an eye of pity, a miserable forlorn wretch, and hear my prayers; and seeing, for just punishment of my sins I am surrounded by many evils and much anguish, unto whom shall I have recourse, or where can I be more securely sheltered, than under thy powerful protection? Oh! gracious Virgin, comfort and redress our lost nature; hearken, therefore, I beseech thee, with compassion and pity to my humble requests and prayers.'—This, as you will at once perceive, is palpable enough, and much more of the same kind might be easily adduced; for the worship of the Virgin has, of late years, been more gross among Romanists, and more zealously inculcated, than it seems to have been centuries ago; and talk as they will about their *Latria*, their *Dulia*, and their *Hyperdulia*,—their various degrees of worship—these are distinctions which to the common people are of no practical value; while by the educated themselves they can scarcely be regarded as anything more than a futile attempt to disguise a glaring enormity.

The Purgatory of the Romanists is another of their tenets, and the only other we can at present refer to. Their dogma here is, that the souls of believers do not at their death, pass at once into glory, but remain for a time in an intermediate state, where sins which do not merit eternal condemnation are purged away by a process of suffering, which may or may not, according to circumstances, extend over years or ages. By this device, which in its own way impeaches the perfection of Christ's satisfaction, and has nothing whatever to support it beyond what is heathen, Mahomedan, or apocryphal, they contrive to draw very largely from the pockets of the credulous. Masses, said by priests on the earth, mitigate or abbreviate the sufferings of Purgatory; but, under the plausible pretext of alms, these Masses must be paid for by the relatives of the departed; and thus by a species of infernal ingenuity, acting on the tenderest relative affection, while yet its wounds are fresh and bleeding, a system of exaction is originated, cruelly vexatious to the bereaved poor; while to the rich who choose to give way to it, it is, at the best, but a mockery and a snare.



Such is Popery in but a few of its well-known characteristics; and when we look at them in their obvious tendency, at once to frustrate the grace of God, and to entail perdition on the souls of men, the picture they present to us is most appalling. But appalling as it is, it were wrong—egregiously wrong—both in principle, and in policy, to lay it, *simply on this account*, under the interdict of civil legislation. It were wrong in principle to do so; for legislation is a nullity without the sword to enforce it; and few things are more obvious, to a mind unsophisticated, than that the sword is not the instrument for eradicating error. It may slay the heretic, but it gives life to his heresy; and the gospel is not sent to coerce men's bodies, but to destroy the destroyer of their souls. We have maxim on this subject, and we have law too, both emanating from the highest authority. The maxim is, 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword;' and the law is, 'My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered unto the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence.' But policy forbids resort to the sword against the abettors of false religion, and this policy is pressed home upon us, so much the more forcibly, that we see it based on sacred principle. No doubt it is true—and we ought to be very thankful for it—that the sword in the hand of the civil ruler may be used, and ought to be used, in defence of our civil rights: God has given it to us for this purpose: and in the bosom of our civil rights, properly defined, our religious liberties lie always secure. But if you, who are yourselves but erring mortals, and invested with no authority over others, in relation to the things of God, shall subject a fellow-citizen to penal severity on account of his religious opinions—even when that severity does not go the length of positive legislation, although much more when it does—will this induce him to forego his opinions? Is it in fact that it does? Or is it in nature that it should? Let it never be forgotten—let neither wrath nor fear induce us to forget—that the great Redeemer himself sought his way to the souls of men, by having mercy on their bodies.

History reads a lesson here, which nations, and indivi-

duals too, are most lamentably slow to learn ; and sorely has the truth been made to suffer by putting the instrument, not of defence, but of avowed and unsparing coercion, into the hands of its misguided friends. There is one lesson about this matter, which British christians, in these times, are loudly called to ponder—a lesson drawn from the sister island. When that island was, by force of arms, annexed to the British crown, its people were, all but a very few, attached to the Roman Catholic faith. And what was the treatment which, on this account, they received from their—so called—Protestant invaders ? They were not only subjected, under forms of law, to grievous civil disabilities, and compelled to support a state-church, which in their hearts they hated, but in addition to this, they were derided and reviled, harassed and perplexed in various ways, which, if law did not expressly sanction, neither did it care to repress. Well, what was the result ? Just what might have been expected. We have reaped as we had sown. The very name Protestant was made odious to the Irish, as the symbol of all that is cruel and relentless ; their suffering for their Popery has had all the effect, though not the logical sequence, of a cogent argument in its favour ; they have clung to it more closely than ever, and hence the difficulties, of mountain magnitude, which statesmen, ay, and churchmen too, have, for sometime past, been forced to encounter. It is true that, of late years, our rulers have been attempting to change their tactics : but what is the nature of the change ? In seeking escape from one extreme they have rushed blindly on another : they are flattering where they were wont to frown ; they are pensioning the heresy they were wont to persecute ; and thus are they sacrificing both truth and consistency at the shrine of a despicable statecraft. In Ireland, at the present time, there is a hopeful awakening ; and what gave it origin ? Not the arm of coercion, but the hand of Protestant compassion, opened wide to the famishing, in a day of terrible calamity.

Looking at Popery, then, as a spiritual evil—a fell destroyer of the souls of men—the only armour in which we can meet it, with any hope of success, is the armour of truth and righteousness, wielded in love. Nor should we, in any circumstances, allow ourselves to forget that here,

as everywhere else in the conflict between light and darkness, 'the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strongholds.' Were it wise, then, or were it unwise? were it sound policy or the reverse? for an evangelical dissenter, *i.e.*, for the man who fully assents to the scriptural principle just cited, in the present state of the Popish question, and of religious parties in relation to it, to suspend his active opposition to the principle of our state-churches, or to hold his dissenterism in abeyance, till the supposed crisis is over? We answer, it were unwise; it were impolitic; it were short-sighted in the extreme. Nay, it is questionable if, within the memory of living man, an opportunity has occurred, so favourable for assailing the state-church principle, or for pressing the claims of its opposite, as that which now presents itself. Let the following considerations in reference to this matter have your serious attention:—

1. The elements of Popery are in both our state-churches, although not in both to the same extent. Human compulsion in religious matters, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is a Popish principle—so thoroughly and essentially Popish that, without it, Romanism would go into dissolution in less than a single twelve-months. The church was far gone in her Popery before she gave in to compulsion; and from the leaven of Popery she can never be free till she has put compulsion, in all its forms, entirely away from her. But this same human compulsion is to be found in the state-churches of our own land, and its nature is not changed by the charm of a Protestant name. It is to be found in the Church of Scotland, as well as in that of England. Nay, it is the very thing in which both the one and the other of these churches lives, and moves, and has its being, as a state-church. Men's goods are distrained, or their persons incarcerated, to uphold their respective institutions: and be it remembered, that although this atrocity—an atrocity which is never seen at the worst, till it is seen established by law—comes but rarely out into fact, yet, in its principle, it pervades the whole community; it is the law of the land; so that our two state-churches, viewed simply as such, are literally and truly the churches of the sword. They rest together on the very principle which makes 'the man of sin' so terrible as a temporal

scourge to the nations: and what good reason can be given, why your voices should be hushed into silence about the Popery of Britain, merely because you are called upon, in the course of a rebuking Providence, to lift them up, somewhat more loudly than usual, against the Popery of Rome? The two may differ, and they do differ, in their degrees of moral turpitude; but they are parts of one whole; they run back into the same root; and consistency calls upon the man who believes this, to show his faith by his works.

2. But you may be told that the Popery of Rome is making rapid strides among us, and that this requires you to suspend operation against your own, that you may concentrate it more effectively on the new point of danger. This looks plausible; it has weight with thousands; but is it sound? Is the present state of the Popish question, so far as Britain is concerned in it, rightly understood?—*First*, it is very questionable whether, in Britain alone, and keeping Ireland out of the question, the accessions to Popery, during these few years, have been more numerous than the departures from it. That which floats on the surface of society is seen and given to notoriety, while the processes of the under-current are left in oblivion. Again, it remains to be seen whether the recent missive from Rome, through the moral effect of its native insolence, is not more likely to weaken than to strengthen the Popish interest in Great Britain. But, *secondly*, and granting for the sake of argument—or of truth, so far as truth requires it—that, here at home, we are in danger through tendencies to Rome, whence, in point of fact, does the danger proceed? Does it proceed from evangelical dissenters, or from any tenet held by them? No man will say so who cares for the credit of his own understanding. Transitions to Popery from their ranks are of rare occurrence. Their Protestantism is as pure, and as entire, as it was a hundred years ago. Nay, it is more so: the right of private judgment in the things of God, uncoerced and unbought, by the frown or the favour of the state, is more clearly seen, and more ardently loved by them now than it was then. In short, so far as they understand, and honestly follow out, the principles they avow, they are the only out and out Protestants that British

christianity can furnish. It is their dissenterism which, under God, secures them against Popery; and if ever there was a time when it became them devoutly and energetically to remember this, that time seems returned at this very day.

Whence, then, does the danger really proceed?—It proceeds from the interior of our two state-churches, both of which have been guilty, first, of perverting the spirit of Protestantism, and then of allowing multitudes of the people, as the result of their pensioned indolence, to sink into ignorance and sensuality, and thus to become the easy prey, first of a grovelling moral stupidity, and then of a bewildering superstition; while, in one of these churches, the doctrinal germ of Popery has been bound up, by civil statute, into the very bosom of her creed and worship. Yes, the Church of England, as by law established, is at this moment, and has been for ages, a miserable medley of Popery and Protestantism. Her Articles, taken by themselves, may be harmless enough, and no doubt a number of her ministers are truly evangelical; but grant her the apostolic succession, and the sacramental efficacy, and the consequent priestly domination, which are wrought up into her Liturgy—grant her these things, and you have conceded to her the three leading elements, which require only to be compounded, in order to give you Popery entire. No doubt her Tractarians are wrong; they are egregiously wrong, if you try them by the word of God; but if you try them by the creed of their own church, which the country is in the act of upholding, both by statute and by money, and to which they have a churchman's right to appeal, you will find their condemnation to be no easy matter.

Be assured it is here—it is just here—it is in the creed of the Church of England, which statute has made national, that you find the mainspring of recent Popish movements. Yes, it is this creed, which for a time was comparatively dormant, but which at length began to be quickened, and to creep out, and to look abroad, and to beckon the approach of Romish emissaries, that has brought us Popery in the new form it has of late assumed. The bull from the Vatican is not the intruder which too many have, in their haste, supposed it to be; it has come

because it was sent for ; it is here by attraction, rather than by aggression ; and that which has given to the attraction far more than half its power is not the mere fact that Popish tendencies are to be found among some of the clergy of the Church of England, but, in connection with this, the far more pestilent fact that Popish tenets are nationalised among us, being paid for by national money, and incorporated with national law. It is this, more than anything else, which gives to Rome its menacing attitude : for it can scarcely be doubted that had these tenets been left, as they ought to have been left, to live or perish on their own resources, the English people would, at this day, in the free exercise of their free minds, and under the impulse which providence gave to them, in things sacred and things civil, have been far enough away from relapse into Romanism. I submit, then, that the Popery of our state-churches, in itself and its emanations, is a reason—and a strong reason—why the evangelical dissenter should not relax but press on, with earnest heart and renovated vigour, in the advocacy of our common christian liberty.

3. This conclusion will be rendered yet more obvious, if you glance at what our statesmen have been doing, and have felt themselves constrained to do, in the midst of their perplexities. They have been conniving at Popery, both at home and in the colonies ; they have been homologating its names of blasphemy ; they have been disbursing our money for its support ; and it is not denied that they would go much farther, if the people would permit them. These things they have been doing, and why ? Not because, in their hearts, they are inclined towards Rome, although this may be the case with a few among them, but because necessity is laid upon them. They have our state-churches to support ; to them they are securing, by fixed law, a large amount of our national resources ; and they cannot keep the Papist quiet, without giving him bland names, and doing homage to his lordly hierarchy, and doling out to him a small share of that which is so lavishly bestowed on his rival. This is their temptation ; and it is the native result of false position. They are compelled to favour Popery for the sake of our state-churches ; but let these state-churches be abolished, and the compulsion is abolished as a matter of course.

You are told that the Roman Catholics have their eye on our church property, and are eager to regain their hold of it. The tale may be true; and if church property it be, their claim to it may, in equity, turn out to be troublesome; but let it cease to be church property, in every sense of the word; let it be, in law and in fact, devoted, at once and for ever, to the general purposes of the nation; let this be done now, while the scramble for it, as some allege, is but beginning; and the chances of its lapse to Rome will be far less than they are at present. This, so far as statute can aid you, is, be assured, your best defence against the cupidity of Rome, as well as against the misappropriation of our own statesmen, by which so many are aggrieved. Indeed, there seems to be no other way in which the question can now be dealt with. Take away, for instance, the paltry sums given to Popery in Ireland, while you continue the large sums given to English Episcopacy there, and dare you call this equity? Or passing the question of equity, which, in defiance, however, of special pleading, is the primary question in the case, what would be the effect of your taking it away on the Irish Roman Catholics? Would they not take it as a revival of their past persecutions, and so cleave more tenaciously than ever to their hereditary creed? Had they never received these sums, there would have been at least no new grievance; but take them away now, while you continue the other, and you give to Popery a plea and a vantage-ground which it knows but too well how to improve. Give to both, or give to neither, is obviously the present state of the question; and since giving to both were a great wickedness, giving to neither remains the alternative.

That it is only the truth which should be endowed is still the belief of a number among us; but this belief has little influence over the minds of our legislators. Neither their sense of common equity, nor the circumstances in which they are placed, will permit them to act upon it. They shrink from the invidious task which it necessarily imposes. As a people we are, at length, pretty much convinced that, while every member of the civil community is at liberty to judge for himself in matters of conflicting religious opinion, no civil ruler has a right, in his

intrusions with the public purse, to provide for one creed, because he thinks it right, or to starve another, because he thinks it wrong. No; that day has gone by, and we are, at least, a stage in advance towards the dawn of the better day, when civil rulers will have the discretion, if not the enlightened christian piety, to respect the limits of their own sphere, and leave the kingdom of Jesus Christ to be governed by its own laws, and sustained by its own resources.

II. But Popery has a second aspect, which should not, in justice, and cannot with safety be kept out of view. It is more—a great deal more—than a false religion, or a dark and bewildering superstition. This is unquestionably its worst feature, as it tends most directly to the perdition of souls. But in addition to this, and aided by its infatuating influence, it is a system of despotism, civil as well as religious, so closely compacted, so unscrupulous in its working, and so extensively ramified, that when fully developed, it is opposed—coolly, treacherously, and relentlessly opposed—to all that is equal, and all that is free, in the civil compact of nations. It claims the right of deposing kings—of defying laws—of coercing mind—of invading the sacredness of domestic life—of extorting the inmost secrets of the heart—and this right, we are asked to believe, it holds by nothing short of a charter from heaven. No doubt it has the art of modifying itself, according to circumstances; and by this art it has deceived multitudes; but while it has learned to crouch where it cannot crush, it never fails to crush where it can. This is Popery, as given to the world, not in the surmising of its angry opponents, but first in the programme of inspiration, and then in the marked and admonitory pages of its own unmistakeable history. There it stands out to public view, as systematically at war with the common rights of associated man; and because it does so, it is as open to repressive legislation as the thief, or the robber, or the midnight assassin, who pounces in secret on his prey.

To deny this were to injure truth for the sake of a spurious liberality, and to furnish the opponents of religious liberty with a tenable argument against its principle. But the dissenting christian who knows his ground, and has



well surveyed its sacred boundary, has no inducement to deny it. Nay, he contends for it as based in equity, and the only security a nation can have against the infliction of flagrant wrong, under the mask of religious conviction. But let us make sure of our footing here; and if we are to have legislation against Popery, let it not be for the purpose of tinkering up, and transmitting to posterity, those modifications of it which have their homestead among ourselves; for this were, at best, but to sanction a compromise between the CHRIST of the New Testament and the Anti-christ of Rome. Let Popery be dealt with as a social offender, and not merely as a superstition. Let statute against it be carefully guarded, else it will do evil instead of good. Let it be limited to its proper sphere, and go no farther than is found necessary to protect the community, in person or property, from tangible aggression. Let it be negative, in so far as to deny to Popery the sanction of the state, whether directly or by implication; and let it be positive, in so far as to compel Roman Catholics to respect the rights of their fellow-subjects, in or out of their own fellowship, just as these fellow-subjects are, in their place, compelled to respect their rights. But let statute venture no farther than simply to provide against overt acts. To go beyond this—to ask for laws against mere tendencies—were monstrous in principle, and perilous in the extreme. It were to drive the Papist from the land merely on account of his religion. It were, in fact, to take the ground which Popery itself has so long been occupying, and to concede the whole demand of that two-fold despotism under which Europe has been groaning for ages.

After all, we do well to remember that legislation, however equitable, can do less for us now than it was found to do at an earlier stage of our country's history. Even in England, so long the dormitory of dozing veneration for an established church, with its wealth and its pomp, and its claim to precedence, the influence of civil enactment on the religious working of mind is visibly on the decline. It is not with it now as in times past. Dissent is undermining it in the right direction, and free-thinking in the wrong. It is losing the ascendancy it once possessed, with but little prospect of regaining its

ground among some who used to be loud in its praises ; and it is well for us to readjust our estimate of both what it is, and what it is likely to become. These things, if duly considered, will modify our confidence in legislation, whether new or old. No doubt it has its sphere in relation to Popery, as well as in relation to theft or murder ; and let it fill that sphere ; but what in reality can it do for us, either as it is, or as some would have it ? It may lull the easy-minded asleep on the lap of a treacherous security ; it may fortify our Queen in the exercise of a prerogative which is no jewel in her crown ; it may soothe the wounded pride of hierarchs, whose own Protestantism is of questionable purity ; it may quiet the fears of humbler men, who are so lamentably mistutored, as to look to earth when they should look to heaven for protection to their faith and worship ; or now and then, perhaps, it may bring down a fair measure of merited vengeance on the more reckless of Popish offenders. But how much more can it do, among a people such as ours, or against a religion such as that of Rome ? It cannot suppress the exercise of thought ; it cannot prescribe the direction in which thought is to flow ; it cannot secure us against the propagation of opinion, however perverse or corrupting. No ; for all the purposes of mental action, whether pure or impure, we are a free people—we are a thinking people—we are a self-willed people—we are a people ruled in religious matters, more perhaps than in anything else, by our own cogitations. Let these cogitations be anti-popish, and you have small need of statute : let them become popish, and what can statute do for you ? Very little indeed ; next, in point of fact, to nothing at all. You can neither get statute at the first, nor work it after you have got it, except in so far as the nation's heart is in it : for this plain and palpable reason, that, with us as a people, statute is not the creator but the creature of public opinion—produced by public opinion—preserved by public opinion—and potent or impotent, according as the people, in high life and in low, unite in upholding it, or in treating it with neglect. It were well for men who trust in legislation to ponder this. It would teach them a lesson which must be learned before it be possible for them rightly to appreciate the signs of our times.

But this is not all, nor yet, perhaps, the worst of it. The nature of Popery, as hinted above, is to be considered here. Its powers of evasion are so subtle and diversified, it is so fertile in expedients, and so skilful in using them, that, to a large extent, it can elude legislation, although you had it even more stringent than the British constitution could at all permit. Look at Jesuitism—that right arm of Popery, which has been aptly called ‘religion with the heart cut out of it.’ Provision was made against it in our Emancipation Act; but that provision has been found nugatory. The Jesuits have been at work among us ever since: they are at work among us at this day: and to their operations may probably be traced much of the movement toward Rome of late so manifest in the Church of England. It may be said that the provision of the Act referred to was at the first inadequate, as well as egregiously trifled with in subsequent administration; and all this may be true; but take an older instance, to which the charge of trifling in no degree applies. Learn from the precedents of Popish countries, if those of your own be not to your mind. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, attempts were made, by means of statute, to put down these same Jesuits in France, in Spain, in Portugal, in Sicily, and in Russia, because their power had become perilous to the civil authorities. Nay, the Pontiff himself, in 1773, exerted the power he so proudly claims, if possible to get rid of this order, it having become rather too much even for him. And what was the result of these varied movements? The Jesuits were proscribed; they were dispersed; they were exposed to great severity; but they were not annihilated. No, they modified their tactics and changed their name, but they were Jesuits still, breathing the same spirit, and doing the same work, with scarcely any abatement; while down to this day, their organization is as compact, and their leadership as commanding as in the days of their greatest celebrity. But how could they survive when exposed to such treatment? The question is important, and the answer admonitory. They wrought a congenial soil; the popular mind, blinded by ignorance, and steeped in superstition, was open to their advances, and thus, by a power invincible to law, they were borne up, and carried through. In one word,

the Popish public mind defied the Popish law; and is there less of power in our public mind, were law to be found in collision with it? Still there is nothing in the principle of dissent which forbids resort to civil legislation when kept in its proper place, or restricted to its proper objects; but there is much, very much, both in the religion of Jesus Christ, and in the doings of the Roman Anti-christ, to teach those who rely on legislation, even where admissible, that it is, at best, but a feeble auxiliary.

To the question then, 'What are we to do, as evangelical dissenters, in the present state of things among us?' the very obvious answer is, you are to seek after the production, and the preservation of an Anti-Popish public mind. This is, beyond all question, the leading task which Providence is prescribing to you; and if you give yourselves to it with christian good-will, you will soon have little to fear from the adversary; but, in order to a warrantable hope of success, there are three things which present their claim on your very special attention. You are to keep your eyes open to the evils of Popery; you are to hold fast by your distinctive position; and you are to apply yourselves, with new determination, to the free dissemination of Protestant truth:—

1. You are to keep your eyes open to the evils of Popery. If we compare the present times, or rather the times which were present less than three years ago, with those which more immediately succeeded the Reformation, we find that there had come in a reaction upon the public mind, which, in so far, was of dubious propriety. Men began to pity our Papists, rather than denounce them, and so were led, by slow degrees, to modify their hatred of Popery itself. There were three causes working together to the production of this result. Rome had lost command of the secular arm, and so was regarded as politically harmless: our Protestant legislation against it began to be suspected, and not without cause, of undue severity: and popular writers rose up among us, who, with more of flippancy than reach of thought, held our national abhorrence of Popery up to sportive derision, as little else than a relic of barbarism, or the badge of a weak and contracted mind. The effects of all this are still to be seen, not merely among men of easy piety, who prefer the modish to the considerate, but even

among numbers who have vital christianity really at heart. Even they are, in some cases, but too apt to judge of Popery, merely from the shreds of it which meet the eye in Britain, or in Ireland, and of course to regard it as a thing so absurd, so inane, or so contemptible, that they cannot see how it should occasion anything approaching to national uneasiness. Now this is a mistake which says but little for the penetration of those who give way to it, and which ought to be speedily rectified wheresoever it exists. The men of the world will have their way, and may think themselves liberal in heartless indifference; but christian men should not forget—nay they should studiously teach themselves to know—that what Popery is at Rome, or in any other Popish country, that it is in Britain and Ireland, if not in fully embodied fact, yet in purpose and in aim. It claims to be unchangeable; and so uniformly has the claim been sustained, whenever and wherever the power was in its hand, as to warrant the assertion that were it to gain the ascendant among us, by credence, or by conquest, there would to a certainty be an end—an unsparing and a bloody end—to all that is valuable in our national privileges, whether civil or religious. This is the true account of the matter; all history bears witness to it; and if there be a man among us, who ought to be specially alive to it, that man is, beyond a question, the evangelical dissenter.

2. You are to hold fast by your distinctive position. What that position is has already been hinted at: you know it; and all know it who care to look into your affairs. You take your standing on the broad principle, that all religious worship, be it true or be it false, is beyond the interference of the rulers of this world: and you hold that your own cherished christianity is subject to no law, and dependent on no assistance, but such as are provided for it by the high statute of its heavenly Author. But it is well to put you in mind that, at this very time, more perhaps than at any other in the past history of our church, or even of British nonconformity taken as a whole, there is danger of compromise. Churchmen, under the panic which Rome has created, are beginning to recognise the power of Dissent, to admit its importance, and to offer it terms of co-operation, which look plausible, and which

are not, it may be, meant to ensnare, while yet a snare is in them. No doubt there is a field, unhappily a large field, a field which is painfully inviting, on which Churchmen and Dissenters may work together, without the slightest hesitation, and where they are furnished with a fair opportunity of exemplifying mutual good-will. There are the outcasts of society—the ignorant, the sensual, the ungodly—in teeming myriads, whose hearts make their heads an easy prey to Popery, or to Infidelity, as the one or the other may be found to act upon them. Among these there is room for the freest co-operation of all who are actuated by the spirit of the gospel, whatever may be the sectional name by which they are otherwise distinguished. Nor, as was formerly hinted, is there any reason whatever why Dissenters should stand aloof from joining with Churchmen in asking for legislation in defence of our civil rights, so far as these are put in peril by tangible Popish aggression. But the more zealous of our state-churchmen are not satisfied with this approximation. They are for going a step farther; they are for suspending the sword over the lesson-book; they are for driving, as well as teaching; they would have you to admit that Popery, even as a matter of faith, is an exception to the general rule, that God alone is Lord of the conscience; and of course, they would have you to join them in asking for civil enactment, not merely against its positive inroads on the common rights of man, but against itself as a religious heresy. In short, they are for mixing the seemly and the unseemly, the sound and the unsound, the christian and the unchristian, the Protestant and the Popish, in one motley compound. Law, law, law, is their constant cry, and fain would they have you to concede a little, in these alarming times, to their well-intentioned and pious predilections.

Now it is here that your danger lies. It is against this, with its kindly looks, and its fair speeches, and its conscientious but mistaken reasonings, that every true Protestant among us, whether within or without our state-churches, should be devoutly on his guard. For the honest convictions of other men, you are bound to show ingenuous respect, as they are bound to respect yours. The man who can tamper with his neighbour's conscience, or ven-

ture to invade its sacred enclosure, does little credit to his own. But respect and surrender are different things. The one is a duty, the other a sin; the one tends to promote the truth, the other to subvert it; the one is quite compatible with a christian's independence, the other goes to destroy his independence, and so to impair his moral influence. The man whose Dissenterism—or, if you will, whose Voluntaryism—is enlightened and consolidated, drawn exclusively from the word of God, and holding its own sacred ascendancy over his conscience and his heart, is not likely to fall into the snare referred to. He feels himself resting on ground so solid, that no case of emergency, nor any plea of passing expediency, can move him away from it. Nay, expediency itself comes to his aid, and tends to confirm rather than to shake, the faith by which he is actuated. What are the broad facts of the case, as they lie open on the tablet of the past? On what principle was the gospel propagated, so speedily and so far, in the days of the apostles? On the voluntary principle, clearly seen, powerfully felt, and working its way irresistibly, against long-established paganism. On what principle was the gospel preserved, among little groups of the persecuted faithful, during the darkest ages of Popery? On the voluntary principle; for states and statesmen, with few exceptions, were everywhere against it. On what principle was the battle of a pure and free christianity fought and won in our own island, and in some contiguous countries, at the time of the Reformation? On the voluntary principle, rising in its might, and proving itself an overmatch for a nationalised Popery, which had struck its roots deep into the very soil we inherit, and seemed to be invincible. Once more, and to come a little nearer to our own firesides, on what principle was evangelical preaching revived and diffused among our forefathers, after it had well nigh disappeared from the pulpits of the Church of Scotland, under the withering influence of statute and endowment? On this same voluntary principle, weak at first, and with few to befriend it, forced into practice before there was time to ripen it into a matter of faith, but working its way, and gathering strength as it moved along, till, by and by, its reaction was felt, within the pale of our establishment itself. Thus has God in times past, been

pleased to honour the principle in question : it is his own; his mark is on it; it is imbedded in the genius of the christian dispensation; and we need not doubt that he will honour it still, if we have the faith, and the firmness of purpose to put it fairly to the test. Nay, it may be safely averred, that, if the christian mind of Great Britain were at this moment prepared for abolishing all our state-churches, and for leaving 'the truth as it is in Jesus' to wage its own warfare, with its own appropriate weapons, our deliverance from Popery—ay, and from Infidelity too—would be more speedy, and more complete, than it ever possibly can be, under a system of coercion.

The force of these statements is not, in the least, abated, by the allegation, that in various countries, and at various stages of the struggle against defection, reforming christians resorted to voluntarism, not as a principle, but as an expedient, not from choice but from stern necessity, having no other means of supporting their worship; while yet they held the state-church principle as firmly as ever. This is true in point of fact, at least to a considerable extent; but it gives out no counter-argument, and is itself very easily explained. After the project of a civil establishment was introduced, the christians were enamoured of it; they rejoiced in the relief they got, without waiting to scrutinise its principle; and there is little wonder that they did so. It produced a great change in their outward circumstances; it gave them rest from grievous persecution; it lifted them up to secular respectability; and, in course of time, by an easy process, their minds were so sophisticated as to diffuse among them a belief that its sanction was from heaven, and that the church of Christ cannot be consolidated, without the pay and the patronage of the state. But from the beginning it was not so, either in belief or practice. Such a belief is at open war with the spirit of the New Testament; it is superseded by apostolic precept; it is utterly repudiated by apostolic practice; and to quote the Fathers against the Apostles, on such a question as this, is just to repeat the clumsy error of which Rome has made so much, in her efforts to mislead, and to stupify, the minds of her blinded votaries.

3. You are to apply yourselves, with new determination,



to the free dissemination of Protestant truth. Here it may be noticed that but little good is to be expected from keen and exciting controversy with the defenders of the Roman faith, whether by pamphlet against pamphlet, or man against man, in the collision of oral debate. Controversy is, no doubt, a legitimate means of refuting error, and rectifying thought; and wherever it can be usefully resorted to, there can be no objection to it on the score of principle. Withal there are little publications, more or less controversial, and of no small value, which have been recently sent forth among us, and which may be perused with much advantage, by those who want the means of more extended research. Indeed, the more select of these seasonable missives may be regarded as a boon, of which every man should avail himself, who needs to become acquainted with the merits of the case. But there is a peculiarity about Popery, especially in our country and in the times that are passing over us, which should ever be kept in view. The more restless of its defenders are too unprincipled to care for confutation: from the moral seasoning which hallows controversy, and gives it instructive efficiency, they are to a great extent estranged: they can openly give the lie to what they know to be true: while the more artless and sincere among them, are so spell-bound, by the authority of their priesthood, that their minds are impervious to argumentation. Some exceptions there doubtless are; and these, where they occur, have their separate claim; but the above, I fear, must be regarded as the prevailing state of the case; awfully verifying the inspired declaration, 'GOD HATH GIVEN THEM UP TO STRONG DELUSION, THAT THEY SHOULD BELIEVE A LIE.' Nor is this all. Between the Protestants and the Papists there is a lack of common ground, which goes far to nullify controversy. 'With the man who denies first principles,' said Martin Luther, 'there is no room for disputation.' But Papists deny that great first principle—the exclusive authority of the word of God—on which the whole fabric of Protestantism rests, and have thus, at the very starting point, placed themselves beyond the pale of that most useful and legitimate instrument, by which, in ordinary cases, conflicting opinions may be harmonised.

But, in many an instance, and in many a land, the slave of Romanism has found himself set free, and that too before he was aware of it, first from one of its delusions, and then from another, by gently pouring in upon his mind the light of christian truth, as it radiates, freely and unmixed, from its own blessed centre. Yea, verily, this is the kind of treatment to which others have resorted, and their experience recommends it to us. As it sometimes happens that the best expedient for removing a bodily disease is the simple use of suitable aliment, so is it, in many cases, with the disease of Popery. Give to the patient congenial food; do not upbraid him, nor cast in his teeth the monstrosities of his faith; but speak to him as ye would speak, although there were no such thing as Popery on the earth: spread out before him, with all simplicity and all kindness of heart, the tidings of salvation, not through Mary, but through Mary's Son. Do this with christian earnestness, with christian assiduity, with christian fidelity; and as his mind opens to receive your instructions, the darkness of Popery will pass away, as the shadows fade before the rising sun. This, be assured, is the kind of work to which, as true Protestants, you are specially summoned, not merely by the advances of Popery, but by those of Infidelity too, which is quite as active as its ally from Rome, ay, and as corrupting, although in a different way, to the heads, and to the hearts, of our misguided population. You, and other christians with whom you mingle, have, under God, the means of stemming the torrent, which threatens to set in upon us, from quarters so opposite and yet so coincident. You can act as individuals; you can act in combination; the ignorant and depraved, numerous although they be, are not so compacted as to be found inaccessible; and on the holy use of the heavenly remedy which the God of heaven has provided, you have the best of all reasons for expecting his blessing.

Nor, in adverting, as has been freely done, to the delinquencies of others, ought we, as evangelical dissenters, to forget the protracted shortcoming which is chargeable on ourselves, if not in principle, yet in the way in which principle has been followed out. Our fathers left us a goodly heritage; we have extended that heritage; we

have cleared it of some of the rubbish with which it was encumbered; we have compelled opponents to respect our position, so far as argument has to do with it; but we have not been practical evangelisers, so freely or so far as we ought to have been. No doubt our way has been obstructed—and in some cases grievously obstructed—by the influence of the system to which we are opposed; but still we are to blame for allowing so many of the poor bewildered children of our people to live and die in the dens of iniquity; and if our position be higher than that of state-churchmen, or our range of vision wider and clearer, our culpability is the more enhanced. Yes, let us confess it, for it is true, that our zeal has not been equal to our knowledge, nor our effort to our power, in instructing the ignorant, or in reclaiming the outcasts, or in sowing that pregnant seed of the Word, which is the only effectual antidote to the growth of Satan's tares, whether in the Popish or Infidel form, or in that of beastly sensuality.

Well, what do we need to quicken our minds, and to bring them up to the task assigned to us? We need more of the inspiration of the doctrines we profess to believe—more of love to warm our light—and more of the spirit of aggressive enterprise, that our light and our love may be carried out, more freely and energetically, into deeds of christian beneficence—more, in short, of that which an apostle describes, not as Christ dwelling in the head merely, but as *Christ dwelling in the heart by faith*. We all need this, ministers, and elders, and private christians, throughout our congregations; and how is it to be obtained? By eager and united resort to the exercise of prayer—of confiding, importunate, and persevering prayer. There is no other way for any people who are really the disciples of Jesus Christ. Look at his own words: 'Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.\*' The fountain of grace is accessible to us—it is as accessible as it is rich and free—but it is by the breathings of supplication that animating influence is drawn down into the hearts of the gracious. There never was a time

\* Matt. vii. 7, 8.

of progress in the church, but was also a time of prayer; and there never was a time of declension in the church, but was marked by remissness in prayer. But see to it that your prayers be genuine, impelled by pure christian motive, rising up through the christian medium, and regulated by the christian provision. See to it, again, that they be specific, or, if you will, business-like, not running out into broad generalities, where there is neither point nor pathos, but concentrated on the things you feel you need, and see presented in the promises of grace. And see to it, yet again, that, with all searching fidelity, your prayers be directed against the selfishness which is in yourselves—against the covetousness which is in yourselves—against the spiritual indolence which is in yourselves—as well as against the things which awaken apprehension in the church, or the world around you. In this way give yourselves to true-hearted prayer. It is not by might or by power of man—his arms, his logic, or his laws—‘but by my Spirit, saith the Lord,’ that Satan’s kingdom is to be destroyed or the kingdom of grace advanced; but this divine Agent has come to the church, and dwells in the church, and operates in the church as the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, ‘Abba, Father;’ and, ‘if ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?’\*

It may be that transitions from Romanism, in our land or in other lands, shall, in this quiet and peaceable way, be few and far between; it may be that a political earthquake, shaking Europe to its centre, and filling the world with wonder and awe, is destined to be the means of sweeping it away; it may be that this earthquake shall be more terrible, and more signally expressive of the divine displeasure, than any that has hitherto been felt or witnessed; it may be that the growl of its gathering is already beginning to fall on our ears. All this may be: it is not for us to decide upon it; although the analogies of providence, and the index of prophecy do seem to point in that direction. But whatever may be in this, our course is clear. Vengeance is not ours. God has made us the monuments of mercy, and his voice to us is, be the

\* Matt. vii. 11.

ministers of mercy. The movement in Ireland, already referred to, is well fitted to cheer us on. There, it may now be safely affirmed, nearly thirty thousand souls of once deluded votaries are off, or on their way, from the bondage of Rome. And what is the apparatus by which this is being effected? The simplest in the world; the earnest reading, or proclamation, of the pure word of God, by kind-hearted godly men—of that word which is ‘quick, and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.’ There are other movements of minor note, here and there throughout the land, every one of which is being blessed with a measure of success. The field is rugged, but it is not inaccessible; the soil is rich, although covered with the weeds of a rank and prurient superstition; and they who have heart for its cultivation are not panic-stricken by the progress of Popery, but gather courage as their work proceeds.

Look, then, to yourselves; look to your church; look to other churches to which you owe a present duty; look to your own country, which God has been pleased so very remarkably to elevate and to honour; and be it your determination that, so far as in you lies, this same country of yours shall continue to be a fortress for the truth, as well as a centre of emanation, from which it shall flow forth, to revive and regenerate the down-trodden nations. This last is a high ambition, while yet there is about it no presumption; but never forget that, if its inspiration is to be yours, you must cherish, each in his own bosom, a yet deeper impression of the exclusive authority of the word of God, and of its all-sufficiency, as the one, single, sovereign guide of christian faith and practice. You must not only have this as a matter of faith, but you must have it as a matter of feeling—of deep-seated and devotional feeling—of such feeling as will lead you on, with more than wonted earnestness, to teach it to your children, to magnify it in your intercourse with one another, and to draw from it your holiest impulse to action, against error of every kind. **THE BIBLE ALONE IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS**; it was the religion of christians, before either Papist or Protestant had acquired a distinctive

name; and it will continue to be so, when these names shall have passed away from the vocabulary of living men, and are only to be found in the records of the dead.

‘Finally, brethren,’ since your work is before you, and your position chosen by the Leader who cannot err, ‘be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto, with all perseverance, and supplication for all saints.’\*

## SPEECH ON THE MAYNOOTH ENDOWMENT.

THERE is a difference of opinion among Scottish Dissenters about the part they should take in the popular movement now in progress against what is commonly called the Maynooth Endowment. Some of us think that we should unite with Churchmen in petitioning the Legislature against that endowment alone, leaving the other and weightier burdens, which our state-churches impose upon us, for the present in abeyance; while others insist, that we ought not to petition at all, without bringing out, fully and freely, the whole extent of our demand. It is to this latter class that I belong. I am decidedly opposed to our singling out the

\* Eph. vi. 10-18.

Maynooth Endowment, or any other endowment, whether to Papists or to Unitarians—for the national money is given to both—and endeavouring to put it down, except on the broad and tangible principle which bears against endowments all alike. But let me not be misunderstood. I am as much opposed to the endowment of the Popish college at Maynooth, as are any of my fellow-christians, whether Churchmen or Dissenters. I believe the religion taught in that college to be a system of gross delusion, adverse alike to the purity of the gospel, to the salvation of souls, and to the well-being of civil society. In short, I take its endowment to be the ugliest feature of a very ugly face; but still, I cannot get over the impression, that the open, the manly, the straightforward way of getting rid of the feature, is by getting rid of the face altogether; for verily it is a false face. Let the following things, then, be taken together, and let us see to what they jointly amount:—

Since we Dissenters are opposed to all endowment, whether of truth or of error, it seems very evident, that, were we to single out the Maynooth one, and to petition against it, without saying a word against the rest, which we must do if we co-operate with Churchmen, the easy inference would be, that, cowed by the alarm which Popery has excited, we are willing to make the rest a matter of indefinite postponement; or, that while our principles as Voluntaries may do very well for fair weather, yet when a storm comes on, or, when the sky looks black and lurid, we can leave these principles to shift for themselves, and are fain to seek shelter under the wing of our venerable Establishments. Now, I am not willing for any such postponement; the recent doings of Popery have not diminished, but much increased, my opposition to the state-church principle; and to do anything which would seem to indicate the slightest abatement of that opposition were, as I conceive, to do less than justice to the cause of truth. Others, of course, will judge for themselves, but I cannot see it to be my duty to seek the modification of a system, which I believe to be radically bad, that, being modified, it may appear less revolting, and so be put into a condition for standing out against us, for a greater length of time. This, I suspect, will be found in

the end to be not wisdom but folly, not a stroke of policy, but a mere blunder; indicating more of fretting impatience, or of petty sectarian spleen, than of sturdy principle, or sound discretion. Our mission, so far as we are evangelical dissenters, is not to modify but to remove—to go to the root of the system—to unearth its root—to lay it bare in its naked deformity—that, by the christian use of christian means, the public mind may be prepared, not in wrath, but from cool conviction, for pulling it up, and putting it away, as all over an unclean thing. This, I repeat, is our mission, our one single definite mission, so far as we have to do with state endowment, on the one hand or on the other. It is by continuing to hold forth the truth—the whole truth—the truth unimpaired and undiluted—that we can hope to prevail. Our task may be arduous: there may be difficulties in our way—formidable difficulties—difficulties which shall tax our strength and our patience; but great progress is already made; events are manifestly working for us; and, knowing that our cause is the cause of righteousness, we can well afford to wait our time, be it long or be it short.

In connection with these considerations, and tending not a little to enforce them, there is a question which comes here into view, and which, in the present state of the public mind, is apt to be overlooked. In what relation does the endowment of our state-churches stand to that of Maynooth; or, to come a little nearer to the point, in what relation does the endowment of the Irish State Church stand to that of Maynooth? It stands in the relation of a cause to its effect; and what is the advice usually given in relation to such a case? First remove the cause, and then you will find it easy to get quit of the effect; but if you do not choose to begin with the cause, how can you expect to get quit of the effect? This is common sense, and it is seldom either safe or sound to disregard its counsel.

No man can deny that the endowment of Maynooth has its causal origin in the prior endowment of the Established Church in Ireland. There is not the slightest reason for believing that, but for the endowment of that church, the Popery of Ireland would ever have received a single shilling from the British Exchequer. It was not the love of Popery which led our rulers to give our money for the



support of a Popish seminary. No, it was the pressure of state-church necessity. They saw the flagrant incongruity of continuing to extort, from Irish Romanists, million after million of their money for the support of a church which they detest, and at the same time denying to these same Irish Romanists, thus coerced and thus abused, a few thousands annually for the support of their own church. Our rulers saw this; they felt it; they were staggered by it; some of them, who are Dissenters out and out, were constrained to give way to it; and is it for us to shut our eyes to it? Is it fair—is it equal—is it doing as we would be done by—is it like men who act on principle—to withdraw our penny from the church of the Irish Romanists, and yet compel them to disburse their pound to uphold a church which is not theirs, which they do not want, and which we—the British nation—have imposed upon them by force of arms? This is not fair; it is not equal; it is not doing as we would be done by; it is not worthy of men of principle; while yet there are men of sterling principle and unquestioned piety, who, through misleading association, or honest but precipitous hatred of Popery, are in danger of allowing it to sink out of view. It is easy to speak against Maynooth; and very much may be said against it within the limits of sober truth, but there is a *pro* connected with the question as well as a *con*; and it is by bringing the *pro* and the *con* together that we can hope to arrive at a sound result.

I know there is a feeling abroad—and pains, perhaps, are taken to diffuse it—that if we petition against Maynooth by itself, we have a good chance of present success; whereas, if we petition against the whole at once, we have no chance of present success. Now, I confess that I do not like this kind of reasoning; I fear there is something slippery about it—it looks like making principle the handmaid of expediency rather than keeping expediency in its own place, as the handmaid of principle. If it be our duty to petition against Maynooth by itself, let us do so, whatever be our chance of success; and if this be not our duty, let us keep our ground and refuse to be misled by a mere calculation of chances. I suspect, however, that our chance of success against Maynooth alone is not so great as is generally supposed. There are Church-

men who will not petition against it, lest, by taking a stone, as they think, out of the arch of endowments, the whole fabric should be brought down. There are Voluntaries who, like myself, will not do so, and whose number is likely to be increased, as the question comes to be better understood. And what do you expect from her Majesty's Ministers that are, or are to be? They feel the difficulty of governing Ireland, with her national Popery on the one hand, and her anti-national state-church on the other. They have not only to compel the Irish Romanists to pay the ordinary taxes, but to lay on them, and to keep on them by stern compulsion, the burden of feeding and pampering a church which they abhor; and though we should have the heart, in these circumstances, to ask the withdrawalment of the paltry pittance now given to their college, it is not very likely that any Minister her Majesty has, or can have, will have the hardihood to comply with our request. The same remark applies to unofficial members of Parliament, chosen or to be chosen as time rolls on. Is it at all probable that fair-thinking men, if set free from party bias, will withdraw the penny while they continue to exact the pound, from the poor beleaguered Irish Romanists? What they may do, or may not do, when under the pressure of an electioneering thumbcrew, I venture not to predict; but leave them to the freedom of their own will, as guided by the claims of common equity, and it were easy to anticipate the course they will pursue. Ask them to do away with all Irish Endowments, and you put an intelligible case, which at least is worthy of their grave attention, but ask them to go and nibble at Maynooth, and you outrage their sense of political justice.

Is it alleged that to endow Maynooth is to endow error? This goes directly to make the civil ruler a judge in religious matters, and, of course, requires us, for the present, to put our Voluntarism in our pockets. But when we speak of error, it is best to speak out, and give breath to the whole truth. The endowment of the Established Church in Ireland is as real, although not so flagrant, an endowment of error—ay, and of Popish error too—as the endowment of Maynooth. There is a mistake about this matter, which has too long prevailed, both among Scottish Churchmen and British Dissenters, but

which recent occurrences are forcing into view. It has been supposed that the chief difference between our state-churches of England and Ireland, and those of evangelical dissent, lies in their respective forms of government; the first being Episcopal, and the second Presbyterian or Independent. But this is far from being a true account of the matter; for, in addition to the one fact, that this same Episcopacy of theirs has in it the very element, which, in early times, was a powerful means of raising Popery up to its ascendancy; and, in addition to the other fact, that wherever there is human compulsion, even for the external support of religion, there is Popery at its own work—I say, in addition to these two facts, the fundamental principles of Popery—the seeds out of which it has sprung, and but for which it could never have sprung—are in the creed of the Church of England, sanctioned there by British law, and sumptuously endowed by British money. Just take her apostolical succession, without which, it is declared, there can be no christian pastorate; carry it out to its first result, her sacramental efficacy, then to its second, her priestly domination, and you have before you the raw material, or, if you like, the wieri wool, out of which the mother of harlots has spun and weaved, or wattled together, the whole tissue of that complicated network she has spread so very dexterously, first over the souls, and then over the bodies of men. We should think of these things when we talk of error, and ask ourselves the plain question, can we lift up our voice against the infamous daughter—the mystery of iniquity unveiled—and even seem to spare the mother in a masque who brought that daughter into the world, and taught her all her evil lessons, and made her so extensively a curse to the nations? The above, of course, does not imply that what we call the Church of England is older than the Church of Rome; but it does imply, and is distinctly meant to assert, that the characteristic errors which still continue to be cherished in the bosom of the Church of England, are older than the Roman Antichrist, and were, in point of fact, the leading means of giving to that monster conception, and birth, and power, to sit upon his throne of iniquity. Let no man deceive himself. It is time to look at naked realities. The truth of God is the

truth of God, and Satan's lie is Satan's lie, in spite of all the attempts of man to mystify or confound them.

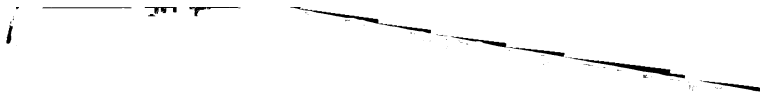
Is it again alleged that Popery, where fully developed, is incompatible with civil liberty? The allegation is true? for who is so blind as not to see that the Popery of Europe has been for ages, and continues to be at this day, the palladium of Europe's political oppression? But I know of no principle of common equity, which empowers me to do a present injury to any man, merely because I know, or have reason to believe, that his principles would lead him, if he had the means of following them out, to do a future injury to me. No, let the man have fair play, whether as a true man or as an evil-doer. Button up your pocket against Irish Popery as soon as you please—the sooner the better—but, at the same time, have the common honesty to take your hand out of its pocket. Civil liberty is a great blessing, and great sacrifices should be made for it; but take care that you season these sacrifices with the salt of moral equity, if you wish them to be of service to yourselves, or to your children. So far as we are in danger from the machinations of Popery, let there be statute to protect us; and let penalty be enforced wherever it is incurred; but let everything be tried by its own test, or measured by its own standard.

Once more, is it alleged that, if we shall prevail against the Maynooth grant, this will so exasperate the Irish Romanists as to bring them all over to the aid of Voluntarism? This allegation has something queer about it. One would think that if we Voluntaries shall exasperate these Romanists, by doing them what they take to be an ill turn, they will scarcely be so very kind as to do us a good turn in requital. If their religion has taught them to render good for evil, it is surely not so bad as we had supposed it to be. But that is not the point. No Roman Catholic, who knows and believes his own creed, can ever become a Voluntary in our sense of the word. He has no road to Voluntarism but in by the door of Protestantism, ay, of a higher kind of Protestantism than is to be found in any of our state-churches. Compulsion is in the very nature of his system, and can never be taken out of that system till it is destroyed. He may vest compulsion in the priest, or he may vest it in the prince, where

the two are not identical ; and in general he prefers the priest, which is certainly the least absurd, although not the least mischievous ; but compulsion he must have, else his Popery is at an end. It is true, indeed, that if our aim were the subversion of our state-churches, no matter how, or by what means, there might be policy of the baser sort in endeavouring, if we could, to put the Roman Catholics into a rage against them, and thus obtaining their assistance in our work of demolition. But this is not our aim ; it is, on the contrary, a thing which we detest. What we desiderate is a change of mind, of conviction, of belief, as the precursor to a change of measures. It is for this that we labour ; it is for this that we pray ; it is for this that we are willing to wait and to endure ; and no man can be of service to us as the advocates of a free christianity, except in so far as he shares in our belief, and is disposed to work it out, in the use of christian and constitutional means. No, no, we have no notion of casting out devils through Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.

These, then, are my views of the Maynooth movement, given to you in hasty hints ; and, in conclusion, I have but to add, that, on the one hand, I am no foe to civil legislation against Popery, so far as that may be necessary for the defence of our civil rights ; and no man, I think, should be a foe to it who values his civil rights ; for, as the groanings of Europe are telling us, and have told for ages, Popery, in its political bearings, is the enemy—the cruel and relentless enemy—of all that is just, and all that is free, in the civil compact of nations. There are but two ways of it: it must be the death of civil liberty, or civil liberty must be the death of it ; and, happily for us, it has of late become so honest, or, if you will, so barefaced, as openly to proclaim this. But, on the other hand, I have small faith—very small indeed—in human legislation, for my country's defence against Popish encroachment. No, I look not to statute, but to Scripture—to my Bible—to the God of my Bible—to the teaching of my Bible—to the spirit of my Bible—to the power of my Bible over consciences and hearts—to that Bible which Popery dreads as the most gigantic of all its foes. Yes, I look to the dissemination of pure and simple Bible instruc-

tion among all ranks of her Majesty's subjects, from the prince in his palace to the peasant in his cottage; and my conviction is, that were our British Protestantism but set free from the corruption of state alliance, and left to fight its own battles, with its own peculiar weapons, our position against Popery—ay, and against Infidelity too—would be far more secure than it ever can be otherwise. Indeed, it seems impossible for any one to deny this, who lifts up his eyes and looks about him. Where is it that, for ages past, pure christian instruction has been most egregiously trifled with? Not in Dissenting so much as in Established Churches. Whence has Popery of late drawn its accessions? Not from Dissent, but from our English Establishment. What induced the Vatican to send us its Bull? The tenets of its own, which it found to be vitalised in the bosom of the English Establishment. What prevents the ministers of that Establishment, who see and deplore her Popish errors, from coming out and openly denouncing them? The good things of this life which the Establishment secures to them. They are living on the world's pension, and that keeps them in bondage to the world. Endowment has had its day; it has done its permitted amount of mischief; and nothing but mischief will it ever do, till it is detected and cast away, as one of Satan's worst devices for corrupting and paralysing the church of the living God.



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